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THE

EAST & WEST REVIEW

An Anglican Missionary Quarterly

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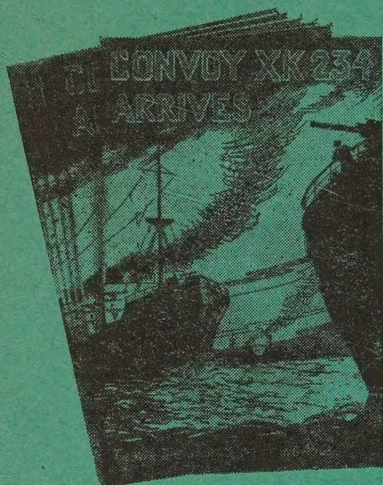
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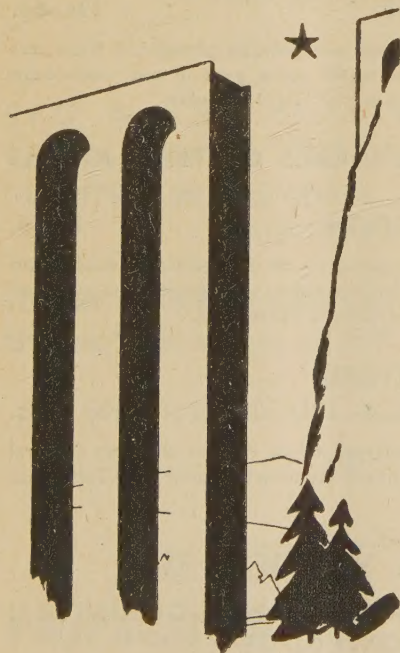
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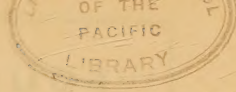
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EDITORIAL NOTES

THE last Editorial Notes in this REVIEW appeared in the issue for July, 1943. Since then the shortage of paper has made it desirable to use all the available space for articles, and our hope that after the war we might have been able to return to the size and dignity of the earlier numbers has been disappointed. Nevertheless some brief editorial comment may be of service and interest. We had hoped also that we might have been able to increase the circulation of the REVIEW, which has been as severely restricted as the size has been reduced, but this hope must be deferred. Only a very small increase in the number of subscribers is possible, and we can only appeal to our readers to share their copies with others.

The special place which China has in the thoughts of the British people is shown by the fact that the United Aid to China Fund has now reached £2,000,000; the Church in China should have a corresponding place in the sympathies of the Church at home. Though it is relatively small in numbers and is facing grave problems, the Chung Kua Sheng Kung Hui (The Holy Catholic Church in China) has great responsibilities and great opportunities. The articles in this number give some indication of the spirit in which that Church is facing her task, and it is significant that a Chinese priest and British missionaries, in articles written without any collaboration, have so great measure of agreement.

Everywhere the Church Overseas, like the Church at home, is faced with the need to re-think her strategy. On the one hand she must take into account the rural setting of the lives of so many Christians. This was emphasized by the Rev. Kenneth Prior in the previous number of this REVIEW, and we publish now an abridgement of a pamphlet written by an English farmer which is intended to suggest to African farmers the relationship between their work and the service of God. Much prayerful thought and experimental work are needed, and there is a great shortage of suitable literature. Along with this the Church must see her part in the development of what U.N.E.S.C.O. calls "fundamental" education, which is known in British territories as "mass" education. On the other hand there are plans for economic and industrial developments, of which the work of the Ground Nuts Corporation in Tanganyika and the new loan of £100,000,000 for commercial developments in British Colonies are examples, which must have a profound effect on the whole way of living of millions overseas.

In all fields of social service the co-operation of the Church will be needed, and, above all, in education. But the Church must think out in what ways she can best make her contribution. It is essential that she should assist to the best of her ability in everything which makes for the betterment of the people, but she must be careful to see that in so doing she is not deflected from her true purpose, and that she contributes what she alone can supply. The important review by Canon Warren of two recent books on Nigeria calls attention to this vital point.

THE PROBLEM OF CHINA'S SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT

By TS'AI YUNG-CHU'UN*

WHEN you pay a visit to China in normal times, you will be travelling from one city to another, as you naturally do visiting any other country. There in those busy centres of life you will see the life of the minority who are in the forefront of China's forward march. From them you will gather some idea as to where China is heading for. But we must not think too much in a hurry, and jump to the conclusion that China is like what we see in the cities, because by far the greater majority of the people live in the villages. They are coming along, following the steps of the cities. But they are slow and conservative. They are the people who represent age-old China, in her merits and in her short-comings. Therefore when you make a trip to China, it is wise for you to see both the cities and the villages. If you do so, you will be enabled to see both the China in the leading and the China in the following, thus getting a more balanced picture of the country.

Let us now imagine that you are already in China, and have visited several big cities, such as Nanking, Peiping, Chungking, Chengtu, Shanghai, Canton, etc. You have seen many interesting things which you had not seen before. You have also been impressed with the number of modern buildings and factories, banks and hospitals, schools and colleges, highways and railways, etc.

"But this is not the kind of China I had imagined I would be seeing," you say to yourself. "I wonder what old China looks like."

And so one fine cool day we stroll far out into the country, and go through a number of villages. We feel much refreshed by the quietness of the countryside. A farmer in blue shirt and trousers with a hoe on his shoulder comes quietly by, and asks me who these guests are and for what have they come. After being briefly told that they are friends from foreign lands who wish to have a look at our country, he smiles, nods, and goes his way to the fields. A few children run after us, curious eyes gaze at the high noses, blue eyes and fair hair of these strange visitors. Through the village lanes we go. The houses on both sides look practically the same. All are built in the same arrangement and the same style. But soon we come to an open space with tall old trees. Beyond the trees we see big buildings magnificently built, with lots of beautiful wood carvings colourfully painted.

"What are those buildings?" you ask.

"They are temples," I said.

As we go near, you are struck by the sight of some square patches of white washing on the beautiful red walls. On the patches are written big blue characters.

* The Rev. Ts'ai Yung-ch'ün is a priest of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui; he was chaplain of the C.M.S. Hospital in Kunming and is now on a scholarship at the Union Theological Seminary in New York.

"What are these?" you ask. "They are out of harmony with the beautiful colour scheme, aren't they?"

"They are not meant for harmony," I say. "They are meant for revolution. They are a means of popular education by which our masses are told to do away with their superstitions, to promote science to revive old ethical ideas, and to lead a new life. Some of these are quotations from the writings of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and General Chiang Kai-Shek.

Then we go in. And in the gateway of the first temple we were faced by the statue of the Laughing Buddha. Several village headmen come out to meet us, and show us into their offices.

After offering us tea of a good strong flavour, the headmen kindly show us round. Going across a spacious stone-paved courtyard, in which are flowers planted in big porcelain pots, we approach what seems to be the main hall of the temple. As we move forward, our eyes are fascinated by the beauty of Chinese architecture: the roof-lines, the carvings, the paintings, the marble rails and steps.

"You seem to miss something," I say.

"Yes, I do. Where are the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the altar and the cushions, the bells and the sutras? Where are the priests?"

"This is no more a place of worship, I say. "They have turned it into an assembly hall where they meet every Monday morning in commemoration of the Father of the Nation. That is why you see his picture, the national flag and the party flag on that bamboo screen, behind which are the images of the Buddha."

Through some side doors we are shown into two adjoining temple courts, beautiful places, with century-old cedars, tall pines, incense-burners, marble tablets. The weather is sunny and the place is quiet. Everything is perfect. One of the courtyards is a Taoist Temple. But all the shrines and altars are empty. No idol can be seen. The halls are filled with desks and chairs. The place has been turned into a school for boys. The other courtyard is an ancestral hall. There in the shrines the ancestral tablets are still standing. But the halls are being used for school rooms for girls.

"What do they do to these ancestral tablets?" you ask.

"Every year the clansmen gather here for one time or more, according to local practice, to commemorate their ancestors, to burn them symbolical offerings of food, clothes and money, and to hold a feast."

"Are they still doing it?"

"Certainly. But unfortunately the younger generation are not taking it so seriously as do the old folk."

"This, then, is the only bit of religious life the villagers are now having? Do they still believe in the gods and spirits of olden times?"

"They do. But they are discouraged to worship in public. When they are faced with sickness or other misfortunes of life, they do what they can, in a private way. But those who have gone through the schools do not believe in anything supernatural. They rely on science. They believe that science and a good social system will solve all China's problems."

"That is rather questionable, isn't it?"

"That is a question regarding which China remains to be convinced. Nay, not only China, but the whole world as well. But here we see the problem of China's spiritual life in a symbolic way. By seeing the present status of the Chinese village temple, you begin to wonder where the inner life of China is heading."

The contact of China with the West in the modern period began with the arrival of Matteo Ricci at the Court of Peking in 1600. He found China in a mood of self-esteem and self-content. Since then for over two hundred years Sino-foreign relations were more or less smooth, and we Chinese people continued to think that we were heaven's chosen, the only civilized nation in the whole world, surrounded by barbarians on the four borders. As to these "ocean people," they were clever in a way. They knew how to make better maps, more accurate calendars, and powerful cannon. But what were these compared to our own culture and the teachings of our sages?

Then came the Opium War of 1842. China was defeated. A humiliating treaty was signed. That was impossible. But that was not all. For one hundred years humiliating experiences came one after another. China was going through a life crisis, and she was awakened. She woke up to realize herself in bondage. She was under the yoke of the Manchus. She was under the oppression of foreign powers. She was getting more and more degraded in position in the family of nations. What could she do? She must admit to herself that she was weak and backward. She must liberate herself from these bondages. She must be free.

The word freedom is an imported term. It is not much upon Chinese lips. But the consciousness is there. China wants to be free and must struggle for freedom. She wants to be herself; to be what she ought to be. Her citizen claims to be a man, and claims to have the freedom that becomes a man. This is a consciousness of great significance when it is the set will of a people who comprise almost a quarter of the world's population. It is also significant because spiritually it means that the Chinese nation has come to herself, has become fully alive, and is consciously seeking after a fuller life.

China has striven to attain her goal by adopting Western science and government, by overthrowing the Manchu Dynasty and foreign imperialism, by a re-evaluation of her cultural heritage, and by general internal reconstruction. This has involved China in a great period of revolution of which the political revolution of 1911 and the war of resistance against Japan are but component parts.

How much has China accomplished? It is very difficult to say. It may be very much. It may be very little. All that we can see now is the chaos of a great transition, the birth-pang of a new age. Everywhere you are confronted with signs of social and political disintegration. The old has been pulled down. The new has not been built up. Outwardly there seems to be nothing but corruption, cruelty, selfishness, lawlessness, love of money, love of power, suffering everywhere and degeneration in every way. But these will be overcome, one imagines.

What will be the outcome? China will be modernized. She will become a dignified nation among nations. Science will complete her

industrial revolution which will revolutionize China's material life. Law and order will prevail as a result of political reforms. Socialism of some kind will be realized. And if China is going to be true to her own efforts, freedom in all respects will be given to her people.

Will China be truly "Free" then? It depends on what is meant by freedom. If by freedom you mean freedom from external imperialism and internal despotism, yes, probably. But if it is freedom in the deeper and truer sense, freedom from lower desires and designs, freedom to achieve what is good and noble, and freedom to carry out China's mission to humanity, then it is another question.

China's real enemy is from within. And if she is to be truly herself, to be what she ought to be, she will know no rest in this great struggle of hers until she finds real freedom. Not till then will China be truly great. Not till then will China be able to contribute her best to the whole world.

But how will China find her real Freedom? Chuangtzu, the leading Taoist philosopher, proposed to do it by a naturalistic philosophy. He thought that an individual can attain freedom by intellectual aloofness, to see things from the point of view of the Infinite, while a nation can attend freedom by following nature's way, letting things evolve according to their own nature, ruling by non-doing. In a way, he is right; because Nature rules by putting a law and purpose (*telos*) in everything, and lets them work and develop mechanically without making any artificial interruption. That is why you see great harmony in physical nature. Man the animal also somehow belongs to this same order. But when we come to man the spirit, it is entirely another realm that we are dealing with. True, God through Nature has also put a law and a purpose in man. If only man would be willing to accept them and co-operate with them, mankind will enjoy the same harmony which prevails in nature. But man being man is given both to say "yes" and "no" to the law and the purpose. To the extent man says "yes" there will be harmony. But to the extent man says "no" there will be disharmony. How then could the Philosopher King say that as he rules by non-doing, all will go well? He could not expect man to turn and become an animal or a tree, mechanically to live and act as a part of nature. No, man is man; he is more than physical nature. And if our philosopher took human nature into due consideration, neither should he expect an average man to become a surrendered saint through a mere process of philosophizing.

Taoist philosophy, by the way, is an entirely different matter from the Taoist Religion. The latter is a mere agglomeration of ancient superstitions which claims the Taoist philosopher Laotzu as its founder and the Taoist philosophy as its theology. Since the superstitious practices long preceded the organized religion, the Taoist faith held great sway over the Chinese masses. But in recent decades, with the coming of science and modern learning, it is quickly dwindling away. Taoist philosophy, however, will survive, as a school of ancient philosophy.

In contrast to Taoist philosophers, Buddhists teach the Chinese people that they can win freedom only by the realization of the unreality of the world of phenomena. They hold that all that which

can be seen and touched is vain and void, and that men suffer because they take that which is vain to be real. The only way by which mankind can be saved from all sufferings and painful experiences is therefore for them to realize that all existence, including life itself, is unreal. They must cease to desire, and try to attain to that state of non-existence which is the ultimate Reality, and which is the realm of eternal bliss.

Imported from India in the first century, Buddhism soon established itself in China and became part of her culture. Its art and literature, its comprehensive system of philosophy, and its message of other-worldliness have attracted many followers among eminent Chinese scholars, while its deities have become gods of the common people, and its temples cover the countryside. Down through the centuries it has seen periods of prosperity and periods of decline. In recent decades there is a revival in Chinese Buddhism. But what will its future be, and how much influence is it going to exert over the inner life of new China? Its literature and its philosophy will no doubt continue to interest Chinese scholars. Its message will also continue to be a consolation to the disappointed in life, the tired, and the disillusioned. But how much Buddhism as a faith will appeal to the active and energetic, the generation upon whom falls the task of the building of new China, is very questionable.

Confucianism represents the main trend of Chinese thought and culture. It teaches right relationships between Heaven, nature and man, with special emphasis on the significance of man and the relationship between man and man. It presupposes the essential goodness of human nature, and maintains that by being true to one's inmost beings, one could not only achieve freedom in one's own personality, but will also be able to put one's family, state, and even the world in good order. A man who does so will be in full co-operation with the universe. In all essential issues of life it upholds the principle of the golden mean. It is a fascinating and well-balanced teaching which represents the practical wisdom of Chinese people. But it is an ethical teaching and not a religion, in that it appeals to reason and not to faith. And because it is so it has all along been a heritage of the learned and not a possession of the common people, a matter of quiet studies and self-culture and never a power.

During the last quarter of a century there have developed in China several different attitudes towards Confucianism. Earlier in the period there was a tempestuous sweep of anti-Confucian movement which went with a general revolution against the old regime. Then General Chiang Kai Shek and some of his men in the Kuomintang Party started trying to revive Confucian teachings. While all the time there are scholars and thinkers who try to rediscover and re-evaluate the treasures of the past. Whatever is going to happen in the future, the Confucian emphasis on the importance of man and on human relationship will continue to influence the Chinese people, and through them the whole world. Will Confucianism then help China to attain her ultimate goal of true freedom? No, I venture to say. Because Confucianism is not powerful enough, as no system of philosophy or ethical teaching alone is ever powerful enough to deliver a nation.

We have surveyed China's three lines of spiritual heritage, and have found solution in none. Can it be that China must look elsewhere for help? In her present struggle, China is trying to adopt two of the basic elements of the culture of the West, namely Greek science and Roman law. She is probably also going to adopt a third element, modern socialism. But she has not quite found her way yet to adopt the fourth element, Christianity. Three hundred and fifty years of Roman Catholicism and one hundred and thirty odd years of Protestantism have certainly seen some spread of the Christian faith in China. The work is gradually gaining ground. But it is slow. And it has been slow because educated China has always preferred the path of knowledge to the path of faith. We are a practical people. We are more at home with things we see than with things we have to believe. But faith has carried us through an impossible war, the victory of which was never foreseen, and this proves that the Chinese people are not totally deprived of the gift.

A nation is never self-contained, as no creature ever is. If a nation is going to live and enjoy a full life, she is bound to entertain right relationship with each of the basic elements of reality, namely, nature, man, and God. The culture of the West has in the last five hundred years paid plenty of attention to nature, a little to man, and rather less to God, with a result that it is in danger of self-annihilation. If China follows the West in the same way, she is likely to share the same lot. But if China chooses to go forth on a higher path, and with her practical wisdom is determined to strike a better balance of relationships, she must be bold enough to take the step of faith. For faith alone can restore the long lost relationship between man and God. And faith alone can make a nation truly free. When China is fortified with all the four goods of the West—science, law, socialism, and Christianity—in addition to her own humanism and with the necessary effort to keep a balanced relation between nature, man and God, we can hope to see her a truly free and powerful nation.

Some time ago I was talking to a friend who was a professor of anthropology in a prominent Chinese national university, one of the best trained in his line. He told me that although he himself was not a Christian and found it hard to believe, yet as an anthropologist he was quite certain of the importance of religion in human life. He said that the downfall of the old religious institutions in the villages has added much to the chaos and unrest and disintegration of national life. But those religions were things of the past, and were bound to go. He said he was envisaging a new regime in China when there will be "one church in each village"; then things will go well again. I believe he was expressing himself in symbolical speech. But may we not take it as an answer to our symbolic presentation of the problem at the beginning of this article? When the Christian faith penetrates to the heart of the people, China will attain her goal of freedom, provided religion goes hand in hand with science, law, and socialism, and provided an adequate balance is left in the relationship between God, man and nature.

THE SPIRIT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

By F. S. DRAKE*

THE curtain in China rises on a baffling scene. In the glare of the footlights appear civil war, corruption, inflation and want. The stage is strewn with material destruction. These are the things that catch the eye ; these are the things that puzzle us, baffle us, and in some cases fill China's best friends with despair.

But the actors are not the authors of the play ; and the tragedy is not the final act. Unseen forces are at work behind the scenes. An Eternal Theme is being worked out : " The things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal."

First, there is the spirit of the Chinese people : the spirit that moves in the hearts of simple folk ; something far deeper than the corruption of officials ; something that outlasts famine and war ; something that makes the Chinese peasant, the Chinese craftsman, the Chinese scholar the same in all times and all places—patient, painstaking, courteous, good-humoured, intelligent, faithful, honest, resourceful, courageous, creative ; something that makes all that know them love them.

It is the spirit that with infinite patience and skill has terraced the hills, and supported by intensive cultivation on the same fields, for forty centuries, a teeming population, without exhausting the soil.

It is the spirit that, delighting in simple things—stone and agate and jade, bamboo and ivory, wood and bronze, pottery and porcelain—has produced handicrafts and works of art, excelling those of other peoples in line and colour and touch.

It is the mystic spirit that, drinking deep from the mountains and streams, the rocks and the pines, has expressed with a sweep of the brush, or a line of verse, the Life that moves through all things.

It is the earnest ethical spirit that has produced the massive results of Chinese scholarship, and the supple strength of Chinese social life.

It is the spirit that nine years ago made the immature armies of China, inadequately equipped as they were, face all the mechanical devices of modern war.

It is the spirit that through all the eight long years of invasion never let the Chinese people doubt for a moment of final deliverance. For Japan, in their opinion, had sinned against Eternal Right, and sooner or later must fall.

It is the spirit that, even in the disappointment of the present day, remains fresh and buoyant and hopeful, friendly and kindly.

This spirit, welling up in the hearts of old and young, never stronger than in the adversities of the present time, is something that the world cannot afford to lose.

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Second, this spirit is the fruit of Chinese religion, and is rooted in something Eternal; for the original impulse of every religion comes from God.

The Chinese have been wrongly described as a people without religion, whereas religion, in a broad sense, enters into every part of their life and thought. Too often it has deteriorated into superstition. But the earliest Chinese religion of which we have record was something approaching monotheism; and it was monotheism with a strong ethical emphasis.

This ethical emphasis was laid hold of by Confucius and his followers, and has become the characteristic feature of Chinese thought. It has permeated the life of the people, and may be called the Faith of the Chinese people; the Faith that there is a Moral Order in the Universe corresponding to the Moral Sense in the heart of Man.

This Faith is the secret of their quiet confidence in the face of evil. It carried them through the ordeal of war. It will carry them through the disappointments of the present. It is the Faith that is needing to be reasserted in the West. It is an asset for all mankind.

It is supplemented by another strain in Chinese life and thought, likewise derived from the Ancient Religion, but developed in a different way: the Mystic strain of the Taoists—a feeling for the mysterious power, invisible, inaudible, intangible, that operates throughout the Universe; the mysterious power that, itself unseen, creates and fashions and sustains all that is seen.

This feeling for Nature is expressed by the Chinese poets and painters; but it is also seen in the humblest peasant and artisan: in their love for birds and flowers and children, and for all growing things; in their delight in running water; in their enjoyment of the open-air.

Its ethical fruit is contentment with the simple life and bodily toil; gentleness and courtesy, and the meekness that "shall inherit the earth." It is in striking contrast to the acquisitiveness and the aggressiveness of modern life. But which is nearer to the mind of Christ?

This belief in a Universal Ethic, and a Universal Nature, makes the Spirit of the Chinese universal, friendly and free. Although no adequate machinery for democratic government has yet been developed by them, the Chinese people are essentially democratic in their outlook, and free in their life and thought. They are potentially one of the great democratic nations of the world, one with whom we should seek to strengthen our ties.

It is not easy to conceive of any dictatorial system of tyranny for long having dominion over them. Over two thousand years ago they were forced into the mould of a totalitarian state, and in one generation they cast it off.

In spite of the provincialism and the partisanship that has recently made such havoc of their politics; and in spite of the spasmodic outbreaks that have given them an anti-foreign name, the Chinese people are essentially tolerant, friendly and hospitable. And never more so than at the present time. They feel that we have suffered with them in the common cause. They feel that national and racial barriers have been dissolved, and, as a people, they are anxious for understanding, co-operation and help.

Under the broadening influence of Confucianism, the horizon of their thought is not the nation but mankind. They have been criticized for this. They have been urged to develop themselves along the lines of a modern state. No doubt the lack of political organization is one of their chief weaknesses, to which many of their present troubles may be traced. But in view of the problems created by the modern state, to say nothing of two world wars and the threat of a third, one may be pardoned for thinking kindly of a people whose thought proceeds on different lines. They emphasize the human being, the family and the whole world. For human nature, and family relationships are universal, and know no distinctions of nation and race.

The great battle now shaping in the world is for the Soul of Man.

It is a conflict between secularism and a spiritual and ethical conception of life. The freedom and worth of the human soul are threatened by mechanism, by organization, by monotonous work, by distracting and dissipating pleasures, and by the totalitarian and nationalist state. It is an asset in this struggle to have a quarter of the human race, with the momentum of the civilization of four thousand years, not yet wholly contaminated with the hideous disease of mechanized industrialism, having in the forefront of their consciousness not material wealth and commercial success, but the value of the individual, the responsibilities and sanctities of the home, the essential oneness of human nature, and the universality and authority of conscience and the moral law.

Third, the spirit of the Chinese people is good ground for the growth of the Gospel.

Some seem to think that in order to glorify Christ it is necessary to vilify man. But let us not forget that the Spirit of God is in the heart of man. Let us not forget the parable of our Lord: "Some seeds fell by the wayside; some fell upon stony places; some fell among thorns; but other fell into good ground, and brought forth fruit, some an hundredfold, some sixtyfold, and some thirtyfold." The spirit of the Chinese people, with its ethical consciousness, its nearness to Nature, its universal human appeal, is good ground for the Gospel seed.

To this God-given heritage of the Chinese people the missionary of to-day must pay more attention than he has done in the past. In the life-time of the present generation knowledge in the West of Chinese philosophy, Chinese history, Chinese art and literature, has greatly increased. Magnificent works on these subjects are now available in English, and should be mastered by everyone who is preparing to lay his hand upon the inner life of the Chinese people. After knowledge of his Faith, the missionary to China should be steeped in the thought and culture of the Chinese people.

It is to be regretted that in this field of knowledge the Christian missionary has too often been less zealous than the secular sinologue, with the result that the great ethical emphasis, the theistic implications, and the spiritual values of Chinese thought and culture have often been overlooked or ignored.

I venture to think that all that is good, true and beautiful in Chinese

civilization is gathered together and summed up in Christ; receives meaning, and assurance, and its "everlasting yea" in Christ; and that it is only the Christian who has true insight into the depths and the implications of the Chinese spirit and Chinese thought; that the Chinese Christian is the spiritual heir of Chinese civilization.

The question is often asked, "How, if there is so much goodness in the Chinese nature, are the obvious corruptions and evils in China to-day to be accounted for?" The same question was asked in the parable of our Lord: "Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? From whence then hath it tares?" And the answer was given: "An enemy hath done this." That corruption has set in is only too obvious. History shows that ethical teaching, apart from personal religious life, apart from communion with God in prayer, becomes barren and ineffective.

It is for this reason that the good ethical teaching of Confucius, in spite of magnificent achievements in the past, is by itself ineffectual to stem the tide of corruption that threatens to overwhelm the Chinese world. Besides ethical teaching there is necessary a genuine religious experience, a spiritual renewal, a death to self and a re-birth to higher life, an awakening to God. The Buddhists have seen it and said it. But for them the problem is mainly intellectual, a revulsion and a renewal of the *mind*. But the problem in the last resort is ethical: a change and conversion of the *heart* and of the *will*.

It has been the experience of men for nearly two thousand years that in Christ is found the power to effect this change in the innermost recesses of the human heart. It is by the power of the Cross, by mystic union with God in Christ, that the ethical ideals of the Chinese race awake from their sleep of death and become fruitful in daily life. A Chinese Christian is a magnificent Christian. It is true that in China there are many babes in Christ; that the old Adam may linger long before he is cast off. Nevertheless, taking a long view, it is true to say that the Chinese Christian is a magnificent Christian. For him the ancient truths become luminous with a new meaning. In him the ethical dreams of the Chinese people become a living reality. His training in ethical thinking makes him practical and real in his interpretation of Christ. But into this ethical framework a new soul has come; and that soul is Christ.

This brings us to the task of the Church in China.

Space does not permit to speak in any detail of the way in which the Church has survived the fiery trial of eight years of war and invasion; a trial comparable in some ways with that of the Boxer Rising of 1900, through which the Church of Christ has come with superstructure shattered, but with foundations unshaken; with banners torn, but never lowered. For the second time it has been shown that Christianity has taken root in China; that it is no longer a foreign faith; but that Christ is the Christ of the Chinese as well as the Christ of the Western World. Nay, more, we are already beginning to feel the effects of Chinese Christianity upon the West. The life and spirit of the younger churches is bringing refreshment and cheer to the old;

in particular along interdenominational lines. If we have spoken of the spirit of the Chinese people, what shall we say of the spirit of the Chinese Christians?

The task before the Chinese Church is a great one. There is the immediate duty to repair the wastage of war. There are hospitals, schools and churches to be rebuilt. There is organization to be restored. There is the Chinese ministry, lay and cleric, with its many grades and types of preparatory training, to be built up again from the foundation.

And there is a still greater task: it is not too much to say that in the hands of the Chinese Christian is the key to China's future; with him lies the solution of China's problems; for in his heart has been fought and won the battle against corruption; and upon him rests the responsibility of ministering Christ to all parts of his people's life.

And great is the task that rests upon *us*. Missionary work is one of the great things of the world; and the task in China is one of the greatest, and one of those most fraught with significance for the future of mankind. The peculiar appeal of missionary work is that, in addition to the ordinary demands of the ministry, it has the specialized function of interpreting the Gospel to a people of different spiritual heritage and experience. This in itself requires powers of self-effacement, powers of sympathy and insight, breadth of outlook, versatility and spirituality, which are a challenge to the deepest Christian life.

But in addition to this, the task before us is nothing less than the building of a bridge between the nations, a bridge between the East and the West. We need hardly be reminded that the greatest problem of our day is how to transcend the differences of nation and race. Two world wars have passed over us, and the question is still not solved. But through these great upheavals the Christian Church has continued steadily to work in all nations, forging chains of friendship that nothing can break; through sharing of life and service; through a common religious experience; through loyalty to one Lord.

Those great verses in the Epistle to the Ephesians: "He hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us," still express a genuine experience; an experience of everyday occurrence on the Mission field; an experience as real and as startling as it was in the early days of Christianity; an experience of inner unity with those of other races, however the physical characteristics may differ; an experience in which "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all, and in all."

The task demands the best we have to give. But when we have given all, it is nothing compared with what remains to be done. Our confidence is in the unseen working of the Father, Who has placed us in this world, and Who in Jesus Christ has set His seal upon all that is good and true in life.

THE SECOND STAGE IN CHINA

By G. FRANCIS S. GRAY*

THE centenary of the beginning of Anglicanism (Episcopalianism) in China, which occurred during the Pacific War passed, so far as I am aware, without any general celebration. The reaching, however, of such a landmark may provoke one into reflections on what has been achieved and what still remains to be done.

And first let it be said that the prayers and gifts and service of faithful church people in America and England have, under God, achieved much more than is in the West often realized. It is not quite, as is sometimes said, that well-wishers in England of the Church Overseas are fifty years behind the time in their knowledge of the position: not a few in England may have a greater knowledge, a more statesmanlike understanding and a more sensitive appreciation of the present state of the Church in China than do some people in China! At the same time, almost everyone from overseas does undeniably feel that if there were among well-wishers in England a greater knowledge of the Church overseas, the Church's cause would be immensely strengthened. The trouble seems to be largely due to grouping together, as is done under the present system, China and Africa and Polynesia.

To be physically on the spot is coming to mean less and less, in comparison with sensitive understanding. A friend of mine, a British business man in Peiping, who lives some miles outside Peiping, at breakfast one morning in July, 1937, heard some shots, which he took to be fired by a peasant at game. He went to his office in the city, and during the morning heard on his wireless from the B.B.C. in London that the firing in question had been an incident between the Chinese and Japanese military at Lukonch'iao, which began the long war between China and Japan. A hundred years ago, Anglicanism in the various countries of Asia and Africa was in a broadly similar pioneer stage: since then, however, the Church in different countries has developed at very different rates, and in various ways: so that such indiscriminate grouping of all the countries in Asia and Africa is now highly unsatisfactory.

As is fairly generally realized, the overwhelming majority of the clergy now in China are Chinese. Three out of twelve dioceses have Chinese diocesan bishops, and within a few years probably most diocesan bishops will be Chinese. The great bulk of evangelistic work in China is now done by Chinese clergy and lay people rather than by Europeans or Americans. With regard to financial self-support the Church in China had even before the war gone much less far than the Church in India and Africa, probably mainly since the numbers of church people are so much smaller than in those countries. Nevertheless, considerable progress in this respect had been made. And a surprising number of prominent Chinese have become Christians. The foundations, in fact, of the Church in China have been laid. And the War has clearly shown that they have been very well and truly laid.

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Foundations are essential, but are by themselves of little use : when foundations have been laid, there are walls to be built on them, and then there is roofing to be done, and after that interior fitting and decoration. And here we turn to consider the second century of Anglicanism in China.

Pioneer work sounds romantic, but is only part of the story. St. Paul himself was much less exclusively a pioneer than we sometimes imagine. He was not, as is sometimes supposed, the first to proclaim Christ in Europe. Perhaps in Corinth, certainly in Ephesus and Rome, there were Christians before he went there. And it is of his work not in actually extending the Christian Faith but in building up the young groups of believers, that his letters tell us.

St. Patrick is rightly venerated as in a sense the founder of the Church in Ireland. But he was far from being a pioneer missionary there. There were before his time considerable number of Christians in Ireland : his work was to build up and organize, and greatly to extend, the existing Church : in fact, he represents the second stage, after the first pioneers : and so decisive was his work for the future that the Church in Ireland does owe more to him than to any other man.

The first stage, the pioneer stage, of the Church in China, is past, and the foundations have been laid. But the building is far from complete.

The proportion of Christians of all sorts in China is smaller than in any other important country in the world, with the possible exception of Japan. And only one in fifty Christians is an Anglican (of the others, nearly forty out of fifty are Roman Catholics). There are more baptized Anglicans in a number of single dioceses in India and Africa than there are in the whole of China. Numbers are not everything, but . . . it is tragic that Anglicanism should be so relatively weak in the one country of Asia and Africa which ranks as a Great Power.

It may perhaps seem strange in England that the Faith in China should spread so slowly. But consider trying to spread Buddhism (or any other foreign faith) in English villages and towns. The background of the religion would be entirely strange. The names and terms involved would seem very difficult and would take a great deal of learning. Doctrines and practice would be concerned with things entirely novel to the Englishman. It is not to be expected that Buddhism would spread like wildfire.† No more is it to be expected that Chinese villages will rapidly come to learn and believe the Faith. Christianity in China has moreover usually lacked adventitious aids, such as a supposed connexion with civilization which have helped it to spread quickly in some countries.

And so in this second stage of the Church in China there is room for great extension. Apart from this and indeed a means to it, is the upbuilding and strengthening of the Church which already exists.

The clergy are not the whole of the Church, and to speak of so-and-so as "going into the Church", when we mean that he is going to be ordained, is a shocking abuse of language. At the same time, when we remember Augustine and Aidan, Westcott and Temple, it is clear how much the Church of England has owed to its clergy. In China,

† In point of fact there have for a considerable time been Buddhist missions in London, which have made hardly any headway.

as we have seen, already over threequarters of the clergy are Chinese, and it is to be hoped that very soon all, or almost all, diocesan bishops will be Chinese. It is clear, then, of what crucial cardinal and critical importance for the future of the Church in China is the recruiting and training of Chinese clergy. And it is for this at least as much as for anything else that the Church in China now needs help, in staff, in funds, and above all in prayer, from the Church in England.

There is much leeway to be made up in this respect. Chinese age more quickly than do Europeans, and may be as old at sixty as a European would be at seventy. But in at least one diocese there are hardly any Chinese clergy under fifty years of age, and the position of many other dioceses is not dissimilar, and the Chinese clergy are an ageing group: in some areas they may also be fewer than they were. In the last fifteen to twenty years, comparatively few have been ordained, and the number of graduate ordinands was especially small. Probably few people in England realized how antagonistic to Christianity was the atmosphere in China from about 1925 on.

Fortunately the general atmosphere is now much better, and new efforts are being planned to recruit and train in particular graduate ordinands. The Central Theological School, hitherto at Nanking, and training only non-graduates, hopes now to train graduates also, and is moving to Shanghai to work in connexion with St. John's University (which is entirely Anglican). And at Wuchang, Central China College, in which Anglican influence is extremely strong, has already opened a theological department for post-graduate training.

In this second century of its existence the Church in China desires, to an extent apparently still not generally realized in England, to be self-governing. No doubt it is in a sense true that, while the Church in China is mainly dependent on England and America for its finance, the ultimate control cannot be in China. And yet the desire for self-government is strong. The time has, in fact, come for at least partial euthanasia of the missionary societies, such as Henry Venn envisaged long ago. In this new era they have still an honourable rôle to play, as almoners and helpers, rather than in directly controlling and initiating from offices in London the affairs of the Chinese Church.

From one handicap the Chinese Church has hitherto suffered. Canadian and American Anglicans respectively are united in their work for the Church Overseas. But eight dioceses in China have been founded and are now helped from England: with trivial exceptions, none of these receives help from or has contact with more than one society, that is, with more than one restricted section of the Church of England. The different societies differ in much besides their specifically ecclesiastical standpoint: and many of their differences are essentially complementary and not divisive. There is very little contact or communication between the several dioceses, and virtually no interchange of staff. And one must hope that the time may come when all the riches of Anglicanism will be at least available, if desired, to dioceses in China, as they are to dioceses in England. Meanwhile, a Central Church Office has recently been set up in Nanking, which is certainly a great step forward. And if this leads, as it should, to increased contacts between the different dioceses,

greater knowledge of what other dioceses are doing, and interchange and mobility of staff, the Church in China will be immensely strengthened.

It is clear that as Christian Chinese can themselves do more and more, there is both less need than there has been in the past for Western staff, and need for a rather different kind of staff, for example, more, teachers of theology and fewer parish clergy. The need for financial help remains as great as ever (it should of course form a diminishing proportion of the Church's resources, as the Church in China raises more and more itself). Unless one believes that the Church of England both is, and must necessarily be, corrupted by its endowments inherited from past centuries, it is difficult to see why the Chinese Church need be corrupted by having the use of money which it has not itself raised. It is easier, probably everywhere, and certainly in China, to raise money for obviously practical objects, such as hospitals or agricultural improvement, than for the maintenance of the clergy. And the latter should therefore have the first claim on financial help from overseas.

As to help which the Church in China may need and desire from the West, it goes without saying that the opinion of Chinese Church leaders should continually be sought. In interpreting their views, it needs to be borne in mind that Chinese Churchmen are not without either gratitude or manners. It is very difficult for them to say that they do not want the help of Western staff (of any particular sort) and to say that they do want Western financial help. Accordingly, a safe starting point would be to assume that they do want financial help and do not want the help of staff, and let this be qualified by their considered expressions of opinion.

Finally, it is worth remembering that the great English Cathedrals were not built in a day. There were many stages subsequent to the laying of foundations: and, as any building progressed, the particular tasks involved were not an exact repetition of those in the first stage. A great deal of time and patience was needed, and the co-operation of great numbers of workers quite unknown to history. And in China it would be a pity either to ignore the achievements of the past or to imagine that only foundations are necessary.

CHINESE STUDENTS' GREAT TREK FROM WEST CHINA

Some 90,000 students who fled from the advancing Japanese in China during the war have returned to their original schools and universities this year.

They have come back to find many of the school buildings damaged, in some cases totally destroyed. They are temporarily housed in mud shacks, and receive tuition in improvised class-rooms. A relief worker in a report to British United Aid to China, which is assisting student relief work, says that in one University 2,500 students stand in line for the library's seven hundred seats. There is a marvellous spirit among the students, however, and overcrowded living, malnutrition and insufficient clothing have not dampened the eager quest for knowledge. They bravely struggle on, determined to sacrifice all for a chance to study and to help guide their country through the difficult years ahead.

THE CHURCH AND THE NEW MALAYA

By JOHN HAYTER*

FOR those who have lived in Malaya during the last five years, and for those who have watched its history from afar with the poignancy of an all too personal interest, there have been times of the gravest suffering culminating in almost overwhelming joy. From February, 1942, until September, 1945, Malaya lay behind a curtain of silence. Behind the curtain, for all sections of the community, there were constant suffering and uncertainty, but at almost every point there was the stirring of new life. To-day that life is being brought to birth. Politically this is self evident, and we are not concerned here to attempt to trace the future development of Malaya, except in so far as possible changes may affect the life and work of the Church. Within the Churches themselves there has been advance and, as a result of the sufferings of war, a greater awareness of the imperative need of an answer to the problems affecting man's life on this earth.

The same difficulties which present themselves in any attempt to create a satisfactory form of government are to be found in the consolidation and the development of Church life. Malaya is not unique in having a race problem. But it presents itself forcefully. The Malays and the Chinese, whose numbers roughly correspond, form the bulk of the population. There is a marked growth of self-consciousness amongst the Malays, partly as a result of the example of their brothers in Indonesia, and also because of their immediate and spontaneous resistance to the Macmichael proposals after the re-occupation of the country in 1945. Nothing that has happened since the end of the war has made it possible to distinguish any marked signs of a "growing together" of the Malays and the Chinese. But unless some common ground can be discovered, any move for self-government in the distant future will lead to communal strife, possibly with bloodshed, and a period of chaos from which the Chinese, with their greater drive and initiative, would probably emerge victorious.

Unfortunately there is little likelihood of the Christian Church becoming the rallying ground of both parties. The Malays are all Muslims and, when the original treaties were made between the Crown and the Sultans at the end of the last century, the latter bound themselves to accept the ruling of a British Adviser or Resident in all matters other than those dealing with Malay religion and custom. This has been interpreted, we consider mistakenly, to preclude any evangelism amongst the Malays by non-Muslim bodies, and virtually no Christian work is undertaken by any of the Christian Churches amongst more than a third of the population.

This cannot be said of the Chinese, amongst whom all denominations are working. The problem here which affects the political scene

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no less than that of Missions is one of language. The inland districts of China itself have not the language difficulty found on the coast, where practically every port has its own dialect. It is because immigrants from China are almost entirely drawn from the coastal towns—Foochow, Amoy and the rest—that the Church in Malaya is faced with the difficulty of having to provide services in six different dialects of Chinese.

There is no question that Malaya as a whole suffers from such great diversity, and it is difficult to see how any sense of community can ever be attained, even without the added presence of an Indian community whose total amounts to about one-half of either the Malays or the Chinese.

That is the background against which the Church in Malaya is set. But there is another more immediate background. At every point one is faced with the legacy of war. Its influence has been both good and bad, and it is unfortunate that at two major points the one works against the other.

On the credit side must be placed without question the fact that as never before, there is a stirring in peoples' minds and a desire, often incoherent and even unrecognized, to find the security of a satisfactory and reasonable faith. It is not limited to any one community, nor is it found only amongst those who regard themselves as full members of the Church. No priest can be long in Malaya without discovering for himself the truth of this. Nominal Christians amongst the European community and non-Christians amongst the Chinese and Indians are in a questioning mood. In many cases they have realized that the old view of life has been shaken and that the foundations of life must be restored.

It would be a mistake to exaggerate the importance of this. It can in no sense be compared with a mass movement, but it is there for all that. The tragedy of the moment is that "the sheep look up and are not fed." If war has brought people in some cases to a realization of their need, it has also meant the depleting of the numbers of those who are available to supply the Christian answer. Some of the clergy have died during, or as a result of, the war; others have retired, and for those who are left there has been great tiredness making leave in England, China or India—in some cases for a long period—an absolute necessity.

Shortage of clergy and catechists is likely to continue and will remain a stumbling-block for some years to come, and the problem will not really be capable of solution until there is a flow of candidates for ordination from Malaya itself. In the past all the clergy have come to the country from England, India or China, but the tide is slowly turning, and, although there cannot as yet be facilities for training in Malaya itself, there will shortly be two candidates for ordination training in India, and one in China, with the hope of more to follow.

And yet, in spite of these shortages, in spite of the impossibility of giving pastoral care in so many cases where it is needed, the life of the Church is healthy and it continues to grow. English-speaking congregations, composed of many different races are showing signs of a greater

sense of community in a manner which was rare before the war. In some cases, through parish fellowships, the churches are becoming something more than centres of worship, and as a result worship itself is strengthened. Again, this is no spectacular development, but it is a beginning and has within it the seeds of something greater.

As long as there has been British rule in Malaya, so long have the Churches been in the country, playing a valuable part in the life of the community through schools, hospitals, homes for the aged and destitute, and for orphans and blind children.

The Anglican Church has a record in the field of education in Malaya of which it can well be proud. The first boys' school and the first girls' school were both Anglican foundations—the Penang Free School and the C.E.Z.M.S. school in Singapore.

It must be admitted, however, that the Anglican Church has fallen far behind both the Methodists and Roman Catholics, who have large schools for boys and girls in all the large centres and in many of the smaller ones. It is in no spirit of jealousy that one can think of this as regrettable. The work which they and other denominations have done has been—and is—of the greatest value. What is regrettable is that the Anglican Church should have failed to do more. Where the need and the opportunity exist, as they undoubtedly do, no question of overlapping arises. The Anglican Church has had a very considerable influence on countless lives and families through such schools as St. Andrew's for boys in Singapore, the C.E.Z.M.S. school, and St. Mary's and Pudu girls' schools in Kuala Lumpur, and the Christian lives which have been born through them are clear enough indication of their value as God's instruments. For those, too, who believe that Anglicanism provides the highest known type of Christian discipleship, there is added regret that it has not been made available for an even greater number.

As with so much else there is the continued frustration of greatness of opportunity and smallness of resources. But still the Bishop is able to adopt a forward policy. Plans are already in hand for the opening of at least four new schools in spite of appallingly high building costs. St. Nicholas' Home for blind children in Penang, the only one of its kind in the country, is doing very valuable work. Within a few years it is hoped to extend the buildings which will make it possible to accept some of the children who are waiting for admission. The worth of the home can be seen from the change in the children after they have been there only a few months.

The buildings of St. Andrew's Hospital and St. Andrew's Orthopædic Hospital in Singapore are still under Government control; the former being run as a Government hospital, and it may be some time before they are able to be re-opened as mission hospitals.

Before the end of the year a resident Christian hostel will have been opened for students at Raffles College, in a house which has already been acquired for this purpose.

Government health services are of a high standard, particularly in the care and treatment of lepers. There are in Malaya two leper settlements, the largest with accommodation for about 2,500, a few miles

from Kuala Lumpur, the second, on the outskirts of Singapore, having room for a few hundred. In both of these Anglican services are held regularly amongst people who develop a spiritual awareness above the average, in common with others who have been robbed of some of the natural benefits of normal healthy life.

Much of the work of relief of poverty is undertaken by Government, by payment of needy cases in cash or in kind, and through homes of all types and for all ages. The Roman Catholics and the Salvation Army have undertaken a large part of this work, but so far the Anglican Church has not entered the field except through St. Nicholas' Home which has already been mentioned, and St. Mark's Boys' Home at Butterworth, on the mainland opposite Penang.

In this connection, while there can be no question of Government's genuine desire to ease the burden of suffering of the people of Malaya, it is open to question whether the policy of administering relief through a Government Welfare Department will not have a regrettable effect in the long run. There are already signs that the leaders of the Asiatic communities are in danger of losing much of the sense of responsibility which they might otherwise have. Too frequently in response to a request for assistance in known cases of need, the comment is made to the effect that Government have a Welfare Department—they should be left to deal with it. Such an irresponsible attitude at a time when every effort is being made to build up a sense of responsibility amongst the leading Indians and Chinese is to be regretted.

There has already been an extension of the Church's pastoral and evangelistic work with the creation of a new parish of South Johore, on the mainland opposite Singapore. A new district Church is to be built in Singapore itself and plans have been prepared for a Cathedral Hall as a memorial to the late Archdeacon Graham White.

As one looks to the future it is possible to visualize two definite stages in the development of Anglican work in Malaya. Some years will elapse before it can be said that the period of reconstruction has been completed, and it is possible to turn to the development of new work on an increased scale.

With the growing realization of the ideal of self-government throughout the British colonial empire, it is not likely that Malaya will remain for all time as it is now. It may not come soon, but that it will come there is no doubt. At this stage it is not possible to say what the effect on the Church will be, but it is obviously desirable that planning, while it can still be called long-term, should be put in hand as soon as possible. Both for the present and for the future it is imperative that the Indian and Chinese clergy who are already in Malaya, and who are doing admirable work, should be joined by others who will be able, with them, to guide the Anglican Church. To-day the Church is alive and growing in strength and influence. Through its members it has proved itself during the time of war. The testing time has not passed—in some ways, with the removal of the spiritual stimulus of suffering, it is only just beginning, but in spite of many difficulties and handicaps, in spite of the uncertainty of the times which makes planning difficult, the Church in the Diocese of Singapore looks ahead in a mood of confident hope.

IRAQ

By CHARLES A. ROACH*

THE fact that the 1947 edition of a reference book on the different Communion of the Christian Church, quoting from the *Interpretative Statistical Survey*, 1938, gives the number of Christians in Iraq as 2,526, including 2,200 Roman Catholics, whereas the number according to the census in 1944 was 135,684, suggests that very little is known by the world outside about the existence and work of the Christian Church in that part of the world. Some account of the work of the Anglican Church in Iraq may therefore be of interest.

The British or Civil Chaplain in Baghdad normally officiates wherever there are British subjects in an area which includes northern Iraq and country some 200 miles south of the capital. Thus in the "parish" are the ancient ruins of Nineveh, near Mosul in the north, of Babylon, 54 miles south of Baghdad, and of Ur of the Chaldees at the southern extremity. The Port Chaplain at Basrah looks after Anglican work in southern Iraq and the Persian Gulf.

St. George's Mesopotamian Memorial Church, Baghdad, was completed in March, 1937, and took the place of the old Turkish guard room that had been used as an Anglican church since 1920. The new church was built as a result of the combined efforts of the British community in Iraq and their friends elsewhere, but it was without endowment, the whole of the church expenses—including the chaplain's stipend—being raised by collections and subscriptions. The brick building itself is one most suited to the country, the many rounded arches reminding one of the famous arch of Ctesiphon, twenty miles to the south, built about fourteen hundred years earlier. An Indian Army colonel who served in Iraq during both world wars recently described St. George's, Baghdad, as a gem, everything in it being dignified and of good quality. Though not large, there is an impression of spaciousness about it, created by the aisles and side pillars.

There are many other Christian Churches in Iraq, of which the following ecclesiastics are the chief representatives: The Apostolic Delegate, the Patriarch of Babylon (head of the Chaldean Church), the Armenian Orthodox Archbishop, the Armenian Catholic Bishop, the Latin Archbishop, the Syrian Catholic Archbishop, the Syrian Orthodox Archbishop, the Assyrian Metropolitan (of the Church commonly called "Nestorian"), and a Greek Catholic priest. A Dutch Reformed Church minister regularly attended our services in St. George's, Baghdad.

The British Chaplain in Baghdad, as the recognized head of the Anglican Church in Iraq, enjoys a peculiar position and, as far as the Iraqi government is concerned, certain legal powers which he never exercises. Divorce can be obtained there only in the religious courts, and therefore the only way that British people in Iraq could obtain a

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divorce without going outside the country was through the British Chaplain. In fact on one occasion the head of the legal department asked the Chaplain if he would give a divorce to a British subject, but the Chaplain confirmed that our Church did not allow divorce.

The Chaplain regularly visited all those Christians who had not a church of their own in Baghdad. On Easter Day, 1941, there were people from at least twenty-seven different nations present at one service in St. George's, including seven Japanese. The Sunday school, which included 100 per cent. of the British children over the age of three and three-quarter years and of non-Roman Catholic parentage, also had a number of children of other nationalities. Usually the classes were in English, and the teachers were English men or women; but one year a course of instruction was given to the children, ages six and seven of a Persian, by a Greek member of our congregation who spoke fluently six languages, including Persian. The father of these children was a government official and a nominal Moslem; it was with his consent that six months later they were baptized.

In February, 1941, among the twenty-eight confirmation candidates, who included five lots of brothers and sisters, at least ten different nationalities were represented. Their preparation classes continued for nearly six months, and since the candidates' background were widely different classes every day for a long time were necessary. Sometimes the Chaplain drove eighty miles across the desert for classes, and other times candidates travelled that distance by taxi for a class on a Saturday and another on Sunday after Matins. Other years Iraqi candidates came from a town over sixty miles from Baghdad for classes.

In addition to St. George's Church in Baghdad the British Chaplain officiated in the Arabic Church, commonly known as the Iraqi Protestant Church, which is largely the result of the work of the Church Missionary Society before 1914, and that of the American United Mission. Unfortunately they have no ordained minister of their own. An Iraqi doctor frequently took services and preached; the Chaplain celebrated the Holy Communion, supervised the classes and sometimes preached with the aid of an interpreter. After many set-backs we eventually started a Bible class for children on Thursday afternoons, as most of them attended Government schools on Sundays, and within a year or so the numbers at these Arabic Church classes had grown to over forty. During the long summer holidays the classes were transferred to Sunday mornings. The bigger children were taught by a station-master, who was engaged in training future assistant station-masters on the railway, and his sister, a trained teacher, who had been confirmed the previous year, helped. Another girl, prepared for confirmation three years before, proved to be a born teacher of young children, and soon afterwards also took up teaching as a profession. The Arab lady who constantly acted as interpreter in classes had the general charge of all of them and usually taught one class. These classes led to a considerable number of the older members being confirmed.

Life in Iraq is a strange mixture of new and old: there were frequent reminders of the Old Testament. For instance, manna that had fallen like hoar frost on the mountain-sides in northern Iraq was often for

sale in Baghdad streets after it had been cleaned and made into cakes. I was told that it was a fine powder blown from a shrub that grows up in the mountains of northern Iraq, the neighbouring region of Turkey and Persia, and in parts of Russia. The fine white powder from the flowers is evidently blown hundreds of miles (as is the ash from certain volcanoes) before settling on the ground. It is collected early in the morning before the sun melts it. In Iraqi houses I was often offered manna cakes which tasted like nougat.

One is reminded of Old Testament sacrifices by the belief, still prevalent, in the efficacy of the protective value of blood that I have seen put on the two side posts of a new Arab (Moslem) house or by the sacrifice of a sheep as an Armenian couple I had just married approached their house, after which—according to custom—the bride jumped over the blood that was flowing across the threshold from the expiring sheep's throat.

In April, 1941, about 200 British women and children were evacuated by air from Baghdad and district, and the following day the rest of us who could sought refuge in either the British Embassy or the American Legation in Baghdad, and remained there until the first week in June. In the British Embassy there were 350 of us, including 180 Indians: at least we had a very interesting time which was reminiscent of Robinson Crusoe and also not without danger; most of us lost a stone or more in weight, but thanks to medical precautions we were all otherwise well. We had daily services, and I called banns of marriage. When we came out we found that some of our houses, including the Church house, had been looted of everything that could easily be carried away.

The fact that the Church is supra-national was illustrated when the Chaplain was asked to take the funeral service of the first Iraqi officer killed in the fighting against the British Forces in that campaign. The British troops were liberators rather than an army of occupation, a position often more difficult than that of the latter, and their main task subsequently was to keep open the lines of communication for the transport of more than five million tons of goods to our Russian allies, and to be a bastion of defence to the oil-fields if the Germans broke through the Caucasus Mountains.

Soon after the arrival of the British Forces in Baghdad, St. George's Church began to be filled up several times each Sunday. In fact the numbers attending grew so great that we duplicated all services. To lead the worship there was a great privilege, and it emphasized the value of our full Prayer Book services; every member of our congregation seemed to join in the responses and the singing was as if all were members of the choir. It was very encouraging to see many Indian Christian soldiers coming to our church, and evidence to some that missionaries in India had done more than is commonly believed. Both the British and Indian troops were excellent representatives of their country.

In December, 1941, in addition to other work, I undertook that of the Pipe-Line Chaplaincy for all the pumping-stations on the oil pipeline from Kirkuk to the Mediterranean with the exception of the two

in Transjordan that were visited by the Haifa Chaplain. Thus five times a year, for four years, I undertook tours of ten and a half days along the pipe-line; in this time, weather permitting, I could visit for services ten stations in Iraq and Syria, spending a night at nine and the early hours of a morning at the other, and travelling up to 2,300 miles by air and car across the desert. At each pumping-station there would be at least half a dozen British engineers and a number of Eastern Christians, Armenian Orthodox, Chaldeans, Assyrians, Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox or Maronites who would attend our services. I was able to tell them that the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Armenian Orthodox Archbishop of Baghdad and the Assyrian Metropolitan had asked me to officiate for members of their Churches who were unable to attend services of their own Church. At 6.30 p.m. we would have an evening service at which the hymns were usually sung unaccompanied, except when we had the assistance of a piano-acordion. There was a French lady, a member of the Roman Church, who would travel 160 miles across the desert in order to play for a service, and this was typical of the co-operation of members of all Churches. Each morning we had a celebration of the Holy Communion to which some Eastern Christians would come as well as our own communicants.

Without the ready help of Service Chaplains who officiated regularly at St. George's Church, Baghdad, it would not have been possible for me to cover such a vast area, about a thousand miles in length, and, for a time, considerably longer. Easter and Christmas services continued daily for two weeks for me, and then there were some small stations that I had not visited. Being Embassy Chaplain, Oil Company Chaplain, and Officiating Chaplain for the Services, resulted in my having the great privilege of travelling on practically all the available transport in that area.

Three times, at the suggestion of the Anglican Bishop in Persia, I undertook tours of some two thousand miles each in Persia, taking services at various places from Bushire to Tabriz. Twice I paid memorable visits to the Kurds and Assyrians in the mountains of northern Iraq. There was something very impressive about a Kurdish chieftain who had invited me to stay the night as his guest, and apologized for his non-appearance on my arrival by telling me that he had been attending midday prayers in his mountain mosque. (Later he was delighted to have photographs that I took of himself and his family and to receive some medicine that I sent for his son.) The previous day when I had had lunch with a Moslem "mullah," my host had offered me an Arabic Bible which he thought that I, as a Christian priest, should have. I thanked him and said that I was unable to read Arabic, but I hoped that he would keep the Bible and study it.

One of the most enjoyable things in Iraq was the friendships one had of Arabs, Jews, Persians and Christians of more than thirty nations; in fact it was the world in miniature, and it was a very friendly world.

GOD'S HUSBANDMEN

By W. S. BOYCOTT*

THE earth is the Lord's"—God, as we say in the creed, is "Maker of heaven and earth." We say this, but do we act upon it? Do we allow what we glibly call our religion, that thing which is so precious to us, to be guided and directed by the common earth? Look at the next piece of newly dug or ploughed earth you see and ask yourself what this has to do with your belief in God. If I understood the earth better, would I understand God better? If I loved the earth better, would I, as Our Lord Jesus Christ commanded, love God better? But, you may ask, what has the earth to do with God's great love for me and my feeble love for Him? And what has love got to do with the hard work of tilling the earth and making it bring forth our food?

The order of things is sometimes very important. God created the earth first, then He created man after. Knowing that if He created man, man would need the earth to feed himself, God created the earth first. Just like a good farmer who goes to market to buy a pig will get the sty ready before he goes, so that clean straw and water will be ready when he brings the pig back home. The earth on which we live is only part of the whole creation which we call nature and for us here is the only part which matters for the moment.

You may object and say that Our Lord Himself said, quoting Deuteronomy, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God" (*Deut.* viii. 3, and *St. Matt.* iv, 4). Certainly He said this, it is true, but let us be quite clear what it means. It does not mean bread is quite unnecessary to man's life and that he can live *only* by the word of God. It assumes that man knows that he must live, first, by bread, that if he is to live fully—and full life was what Our Lord meant—the word of God is also necessary for us. Of course if he is to have bread, the earth is necessary. If man is to live at all to hear, to know, and to act upon the word of God, first of all he must live by bread and the earth.

All this is over and over again expressed in the Old Testament. The earth is not only very real, but very important to the Old Testament.

There are laws about man's treatment of the land; much in the historical stories, like Ruth and Naboth and many others, all depend on the land. Many of the psalms, like the 19th, 104th, and 107th, are very earthy in their ideas. The 78th is often looked upon as a dull psalm, the dullest in the book, but if you take a little time and study it carefully, you will see that the long history of the People of Israel and their relations with God are both involved with the earth. The last verse means exactly what it says; God's feeding the people is real and actual, not a symbolic expression for what we might call Spiritual comfort. But this does not mean that a big tall man with a long beard descended out of the heavens and fed each of the Israelites with a golden

* This article is a condensed form of one written primarily for Christians in Africa and India.

spoon, as a mother feeds her small child. God doesn't work quite that way; He directs, orders and supervises, but calls upon men to carry out the work for Him. He acts, not by Himself, but in and through people. Our help (not only our help in getting food from the earth which is the first thing, but all God's help to us) is in *His Name*, and—not but—and *at the hands* of other people. And remembering this, let us look at two particular passages from the prophets.

"Yet thou O Lord, art in the midst of us and we are called by thy name; leave us not" (*Jer. xiv. 9*). Taken by themselves these words might mean many things. However if you will look at the whole section in which the words come (verses 1-9) you will see that the land of Judah suffered from a very bad famine. The people probably had tried to live independently of God and had not followed His way of cultivating the land; they found their mistake. They turned again and said, because God was in the midst of them because the land was His, if He would not leave them they would be spared from the worst of the famine. That is, they realized that their real link with God was the earth. Or look at the book of Joel. This is really nothing more than a story of man, famine, man's disregard for God, and God's saving love for them and blessing their land. Notice carefully that in chap. ii., ver. 18, God will bless (be jealous for) the land *before*, as a necessary way to, blessing His people. But the ver. i. 9 makes it clear that the chief result of the famine is not so much that the people are hungry and perhaps dying from hunger, but that the offering could not be made in the temple. That is, because of the famine; the means of access between man and God had been taken away. And if we cut ourselves off from God, what happens? I need not go into that here, save to say that our Communion with God, as Children with their Father, is the fundamental idea of Christianity.

Then, what about the life and teaching of Our Lord Himself? His own interest and knowledge of the land, and of nature in general, is very well known. However it is not so well understood that He appreciated nature and the land, not just as something from which to draw his mental pictures, but as a great reality in and on which man has to live. The tares and the wheat, the sower, the vine, and other parables were not just useful to him for spiritual lessons; He saw them as they really are. His great concern for feeding people must be regarded as having much to do with this. He was, too, the village carpenter, a large part of whose work would be making the wooden ploughs of His day. He knew probably more than we often realize when He said that no one putting the hand to the plough and turning back, was fit for the Kingdom of God (*St. Luke ix. 62*). While it is an allegory, it is also a literal truth. Those who use ploughs in their daily work may ask what did Our Lord really know about ploughs? Unless you can go and cut down a tree and, out of it, fashion a serviceable plough that will cut a straight furrow, you will have to content yourself with knowing rather less about ploughs than Our Lord did. It is also perfectly true that Our Lord gave some of His time (but possibly not as much as He did to making ploughs) to preaching and teaching about the Kingdom of God.

We are very inclined to think His teaching had nothing to do with His work as a Carpenter—I wonder if that was really so? I think it is as misleading to say that they had nothing to do with each other, as it is to say that they were the same thing. If we believe anything at all about the life and teaching of Jesus, surely we must believe that all the parts of it do, in some mysterious fashion, make a whole. Over and over again in history people have misunderstood Jesus Christ and His work and teaching, simply because they have only appreciated part of it. They have not seen the Big, the Whole, the Entire Man Christ Jesus.

All I have been saying seems, perhaps, to call for a double, a twofold, duty—our duty towards the earth, and our duty towards God, in worship and prayer. These two duties are, in fact, only two parts of one duty towards and from which our second duty—to our neighbour—arises. Thus in *Ecclesiasticus* vii. 14 and 15 we read :

“ Use not many words in a multitude of elders and make not much babbling when thou prayest. Hate not laborious work, neither husbandry, which the Most High hath ordained.”

There are two things to be noticed here. First the teaching is negative—thou shalt not : we can easily change this by saying—Learn to pray and worship truly, which is more than just babbling words, and take pleasure, pride and joy also in your work on the land. For it is really God's work—you are serving Him when you till the earth well. The second thing, and the more important, is that these two things are put together—prayer and our work upon the land. Here I am not going to say anything about worship or prayer, not because it isn't important—it is. I am going to say a little more about our duty to the earth and why we should look after it in a certain way, because it is God's which He has given to us to look after for His own glory ; and then I shall try and show the relation of this to the whole of life, by reference to the most important and supreme moment of Our Lord's Own life—the Last Supper.

Taking the world as a whole there are a large variety of climates—soils as well as farming systems. Even in one field of twenty or thirty acres the conditions required for successful farming may differ. So, though it is difficult to discuss the conditions of good farming which apply everywhere, there are certain principles which do, and must apply, all over the world. These principles can be summed up under the title of Good Husbandry. In part we can say what Good Husbandry means under three short headings :

1. The protection of soil from waste, i.e. being washed away by rain or blown away by wind.
2. Making good the loss from the soil by what we take out of it ; that is by manuring, paying particular attention to maintaining the *organic* content of the soil.
3. Discovering what is lacking by a particular piece of ground, for example, drainage, extra deep ploughing or complete rest from cultivation (fallowing), and acting upon our discoveries.

These are technical and largely scientific matters, and do not contain all that is meant by Good Husbandry. It is rather a relationship, a love for the soil which includes within it certain technical and scientific ideas. As the word husband has applied much longer to a man's relationship to the land than to his relationship to a wife, Good Husbandry can well be summed up in saying that it is the duty of man to honour, cherish and obey his land. The word "obey" is perhaps more important. Man can and does change and alter the land—by cultivation turn desolation into well-tilled fields; but he can only change nature in this way to a limited extent. If he goes too far and regards the land as a machine which must be made at all costs to do exactly what he wants it to, it will hit back at him. It will cease to be fertile.

All over the world at the present time the land has failed man, because he has misused the land. In his greedy habits for more food, quickly and cheaply produced, man has robbed the land. The world is, in fact, only just becoming aware of this and the results which follow from it. It is very little use to talk and think about a better and higher standard of living in towns and a better moral standard for all men—which includes the abolition of war—if men and women are as a result going to be perpetually hungry. Any sort of education, however simple or however advanced, will not of itself give them the first necessity of life—food. If all men are to be adequately fed, Good Husbandry—the right relationship of man to the land—is the first necessity.

For this very reason it is worth while looking back to the land laws of the Old Testament and regarding these, not as interesting history of a bygone age, but as the law of God given to man which have not changed with the passing of the years. They are bound up with, and are part of, the law that man should worship God. It may seem that the earth does not matter to our worship, but in fact it does and when we keep this in our minds, the meaning of our Communion is likely to take even a bigger meaning for us.

Worship by itself, full communion with God in prayer, however real it is, is not the whole of our duty towards Him. Let me finish by reminding you of some of Our Lord's own words :

"Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter the Kingdom of Heaven; but he that doeth the will of My Father which is in heaven. Many will say to me at that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity."—*St. Matthew*, vii, 21-23.

A great deal is demanded of us, as Children of God. Doing the will of God is not the simple matter it sometimes appears to be. Loving God with all our hearts and minds, the first great commandment is a combination of good honest work upon the land, treating it as God's own which He has given us to use, and worshipping Him in prayer. Then from this the second commandment—our duty to our neighbours—will arise. In a spiritual sense St. Paul refers to us as "God's husbandry" (*1 Cor.* iii. 9) which is very true; it is true, too, that in a real and actual sense we are, or should be, God's own husbandmen.

REVIEW

ON GOVERNING COLONIES. By W. R. CROCKER. Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

HAVE WE FAILED IN NIGERIA. By W. R. MILLER. Lutterworth Press. 6s.

These are two most bracing books ; they cover a very great deal of the same ground, and are remarkable both for their complementary qualities and for the substantial measure of agreement that unites them, although their avenues of approach are widely different. Both approve the far-sighted wisdom of Lord Lugard in setting forth and first applying the principle of indirect rule for these tropical African territories. Both are frankly critical of the half-hearted and unintelligent and often reactionary way in which Lord Lugard's ideal has been pursued. Both penetrate below the surface to consider the formative influence of climate and disease and environment upon the peoples of West Africa. Both see the hope of the future in a new realization that the African is first and foremost a peasant and that his economic, social, and political development must proceed from the bottom upwards. Both are profound pessimists about the likelihood of significant progress in the near future. Both are convinced optimists about the inherent capacity of the African to rise to any responsibility. Both consider that, for all the benefits given, Britain is at the moment failing the African. Both believe that it is not too late to bring into being a new and creative partnership of the two peoples.

All the above factors are of decisive importance for the Christian Church and for the missionary serving the Church. Both these books are devastating in their criticism of much in the life of the Church and not a little in the work of Missions. Even where most unpalatable, there is so much truth in what they say that their comments must be taken, studied, and digested, not simply ignored. In the case of W. R. Crocker the approach to religion is essentially that of Gibbon's administrator, for whom all religions are "equally useful," but there is a deep undercurrent of justice in some of his criticisms of the missionary movement, though he has failed to do justice to the forward thinking of many missionaries. In Dr. Miller's case the criticism is the criticism born of love called out by the African in a service in Nigeria of close on fifty years. The measure of how love can suffuse criticism which is often vigorous may be gauged from the verdict of a West African now in England who, having read Dr. Miller's book, agreed that it corresponded to the facts in Nigeria to-day.

On education, W. R. Crocker has this comment :

To the European only a literate person can be educated ; a proposition soon deformed into the proposition that the literate person is an educated person. . . . Until not very long ago, then, education was seen entirely as a matter of enabling as many children as possible to read, write, and do arithmetic. Higher education was seen as doing more and more of this.

Dr. Miller's book is a running commentary on the fallacy of this illusion, though it would seem that the two writers come most to disagreement in their respective solutions of the problem: the one, W. R. Crocker, almost cynical in his hope that the obstinacy and passivity of the African will make him resistant to the pressures of the modern world: the other, Dr. Miller, committed to his Christian conviction that knowledge has been given men with which to master their environment; and moved by his profound Christian compassion to desire a radical attack upon those physical evils and social injustices about which at times the other seems almost complacent.

One of the fundamental problems upon which W. R. Crocker touches, but which he does not adequately unfold, is the overwhelming pressure upon government officers to get results and to get them quick, "to do things" rather than "to help people to grow." Only a few weeks ago an experienced missionary educator in Africa was having an interview with a woman government official concerned with education.

The missionary writes:

What I did emphasize in my conversation was that to superimpose upon the primitive culture of the girls an ordinary reading, writing and arithmetic curriculum completely out of connexion with their ordinary life and in a town environment, might prove a most dangerous experiment—besides contravening all educational principles of learning by association of the new and unknown with the old and known. She agreed in principle, but said in practice there *must be a break* and these girls *must be made literate*. I said I thought it was far more important for them to become better wives and mothers; to which again she agreed in theory.

We missionaries are not in Africa to produce more and more literates. We are there to help people to grow into the disciplined service of Jesus Christ. The sooner that this fundamental purpose of Christian education is understood by government education departments the better. When our different objectives are frankly recognized, then it ought to be possible to see where we can meet and how help one another. If when we have met, with clear understanding of this issue, the Government decides that, educationally speaking, our schools deserve a government grant, we shall welcome such as a help to better service. But government grants can be bought at too high a price. If you doubt it, read Crocker and Miller.

M. A. C. WARREN.

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